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ABSTRACT

This study investigated parenting beliefs and practices of Turkish students attending a university in a small U.S. town. Data sources included interviews with the parents, and observations of their children. Highlighting differences between the Turkish students and other Turkish migrants, the study found that the most commonly mentioned characteristic of a good parent by the participants was sacrifice. Patience and mercy toward children were also mentioned. Hoping for a closer relationship with their children than they had with their parents, and parenting as mainly the reasonability of mothers were common threads among the participants. Important differences were found between families holding traditional values and families holding western values. Although these differences support the literature, it was argued that the explanation for these differences lies not in SES and parents' educational level, but rather in the differences in the families' interpretations of Islam and how they related to the values the families hold. The findings pose implications for future research into the role and influence on Islam in Turkish family life and parenting and the reasons for the absence of religion in such studies to date. (Contains 24 references.) (HTH)

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Turkish Students' Parenting Beliefs and Practices

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Turkish Students' Parenting Believes and Practices

Many researchers investigated various issues related to migrant children (Elderling, 1997; Ogbu & Simons, 1998; Rohr-Sendlmeier, 1990; Saydam, 1990; etc.) Yet not much attention is paid to the issues of the children of international students. The literature on migrant children focused, mainly, on children's school achievement and second language acquisition influencing school achievement but different parenting practices remained uncovered.

The goal of this study is to investigate parenting believes and practices of Turkish students in a small town in the US. I choose qualitative research methodology for my investigation as my interest is in the actual dynamic; the daily life of the families that I believe affects children more than their demographic characteristics. I felt the same way in terms of family as an social organization when I read the following statement: "It may be that the differences in organization that we need to be interested in are quite small indeed and radically local differences in everyday classroom life that make a big difference for student learning" (Erickson, 1986, p. 129).

This study can be called as an instrumental case study as defined by Stake (1995), as my final goal for studying Turkish students' parenting believes and practices is to understand, in general, Turkish parenting believes and practices. "...we will have a research question, a puzzlement, a need for general understanding, and a feel that we may get insight into the question by studying a particular case" (p. 3).

Data sources are literature review, interviews with student parents, and observations of children. The fieldwork was started in October 2000, and completed in February 2001.

Main research questions are:

1. What are Turkish students' beliefs and perceptions about good parenting?
2. What are the main factors of culture on those patterns?
3. What difficulties do Turkish students face in their family life due to living in USA?

Literature Review

Because I had difficulty in finding literature particularly related to issues of Turkish student parents in the US, I looked more widely for related literature. A broader view allowed me to look at cultural context and also to compare the problems of Turkish student parents with those of Turkish migrants.

Throughout my search on related literature, I found that most of the studies done by American researchers were very old (Helling, B. B., 1967; Olson, E. P., 1976, 1981). Few studies were conducted on Turkish children in the US, compared to studies done in European countries.

Most of the studies used quantitative research methodology, while just a few used qualitative research methodology. I organized my literature review into three categories: (a) Turkish migrant children, (b) comparisons of Turkish (collectivistic) values to Western (individualistic) values, and (c) Turkish family and cultural context.

Turkish Migrant Children

When I did key word search on databases using the term 'migrant children' I saw that most of the research have been devoted the issue of low school achievement. Among those I selected those including Turkish migrant children such as Elderling, 1997; Nauck, 1987; Rohr-Sendlmeier, 1990; & Saydam, 1990. Because of a considerable population of

Turks in many European countries, many of them are from Germany, Netherlands, Belgium, United Kingdom, Switzerland, and France. While in some studies Turkish migrant children are examined among other minority children, in others they are the focus of study by itself.

Majority of literature about Turkish families living abroad is concerning primarily about children's low school achievement or the process of acculturation rather than parent children relationship and family life.

Several studies point out that Turkish migrants keep contact with home country very often. Some researchers argue that Turkish migrants' contact with home country negatively effects their socialization and children's language acquisition (Elderling, 1997). Some researchers, on the other hand, argue that home country contact plays a critical role of Turkish migrants' socialization process by protecting them against alienation (Kagitcibasi, 1987; Levine, 1973).

Overall three main reasons pointed by literature for Turkish migrant children's low school achievement: (a) lack of host country language, (b) cultural difference between host country and the country of origin, and (c) the status of migrants in host country.

Because the reason for migration is economic, most of the parents are from low SES, many of them are from rural regions in Turkey and have low educational level. They do not have proficiency in host country's language and they labor in low skill jobs in host country, which keeps them again in low SES. The value differences between Turkish culture and Western culture add another problem for Turkish migrants. Parents

try to protect their children's cultural identity that causes conflict between parents and children as well as makes children's socialization harder.

A Move from Collectivistic vs. Individualistic Dichotomy to Integration

Turkey is a developing country. There have been changes in social values with industrialization and Westernization after Turkish Revolution in 1920. Turkish culture was known as collectivistic. Many researchers conducted comparative studies to investigate Turkish cultural values based on the dichotomy of Individualistic vs. Collectivistic cultures (Carden & Feicht, 1991; Goregenli, 1997; Helling, 1967; Hyman, Payaslioglu, & Frey, 1958; Kagitcibasi, 1996; Kozan & Ergin, 1998; and Phalet & Claeys, 1993). All of these researchers agree that Turkish culture is neither collectivistic nor individualistic, rather they emphasize that Turkish society integrated individualistic values with old collectivistic ones and displays different aspects of both individualism and collectivism at the same time.

That integration can also be seen in family values and parent child relationship. Studies investigating Turkish parent child relationship and parenting practices show that there are differences in parenting from authoritarian to democratic respectively from rural to urban, low to high SES, and low to high parent educational level (T. C. Basbakanlik Aile Arastirma Kurumu, 1995; and Kagitcibasi, 1996).

Turkish Family and Cultural Context

Despite the fact that there is great deal of diversity in terms of both religion and ethnicity in Turkish community (Olson, 1976; Zeidan, 1999), I found no study investigating the effect of religious and ethnic differences among Turkish people on their family life and child rearing practices. Cagiltay and Bichelmeyer, 2000 points out the

influence of religion on family and cultural values and argues that religion still rules the daily life in family and community including school in an informal way even though Turkey is a secular country.

Studies emphasize the role of mother on child development, because childrearing is seen as mothers' responsibility in Turkey (T. C. Basbakanlik Aile Arastirma Kurumu, 1995; Hortacsu, 1995).

Turkish parenting is characterized as inconsistent, spontaneous (Ilbas, 1999; Olson, 1981) and authoritative (Haktanir et al. 1999; Kagitcibasi, 1996). Parent educational level, SES, and living in urban or rural are defined as the most important variables on parenting differences (T. C. Basbakanlik Aile Arastirma Kurumu, 1995; Haktanir et al. 1999; Hortacsu 1995; Kagitcibasi 1996).

The results of T. C. Basbakanlik Aile Arastirma Kurumu (1995) show that there are two different parenting styles in Turkey at the same time. Researchers relate the differences only to rural-urban life, parents' educational level, and SES.

I argue, however, that parents' interpretation of Islam is another variable that has influence on the parenting differences. Before the Turkish Revolution the family and social law was based on Islam. Revolution resulted in many changes, particularly in official level but Turkish cultural and family values are still rooted in Islamic principles. Following quotation from Hyman et al. (1958) confirms my argument.

While there had been earlier timid attempts at reform, these came to a dramatic culmination with Ataturk and the Revolution, and Westernization to be superimposed on a traditional society that was rural, non-industrialized, Islamic in

culture, and absolutist in political institutions, and this general effort is still in progress. (p. 275)

Methodology

Participants of this study are eight Turkish families who met following conditions:

1. Having a child at age of 2 to 8.
2. Stay in the US throughout the study.
3. One of the parents is student at university.

I used pseudonyms for participants for the sake of confidentiality. The average age range of parents is 30-35. A list of participant families is provided in Appendix 3.

Data Sources

The main data sources for that study are four sessions of semi-structured interviews, lasted from half to one and half hour, with children's parents conducted between 10/24/00 and 02/21/01. A list of some interview questions can be seen in Appendix 1. In addition, I had informal interviews with teachers of those children enrolling an educational institution in their classroom settings. All interviews were recorded by handwritten fieldstones. Interviews with parents conducted in Turkish, after translated into English. I also had two sessions of observation of children. Observations of those who attend an educational institution had been conducted in their classrooms and those who do not attend an educational institution had been conducted in their home settings. The complete list of interview and observation timeline is provided in Appendix 2. The final data source is description of children written by parents.

Findings

Differences Between Turkish Students and Migrants

Turkish students in abroad are different from Turkish migrants in various aspects that influence their family life as well as their parenting practices and yield differences in terms of the problems they face in abroad.

First of all migrants immigrate abroad mostly for economic reasons and to work (Kagiticbasi 1987), while the participants of this study are in abroad for education.

Most of the migrants are poorly educated (Elderling 1997), while all of my participants have at least bachelor degree and some working for masters.

Majority of migrants are from lower social class in Turkey and they stay in lower social class in host country (Elderling 1997), while my participants are in middle class in Turkey although some are from lowers class families.

Migrants stay in host countries for a long time, which also causes some problems in terms of their children's education and acculturation (Kagiticbasi 1987), while my participants stay in the US until they earn their degree, which is usually two years.

And finally, majority of migrants are lack of language of host country (Elderling, 1997; Kagiticbasi, 1987; Rohr-Sendlmeier, 1990), while my participants have considerable proficiency in English.

This study shows a gap in literature. Literature on Turkish migrants is not helpful for understanding issues of Turkish students given to the differences mentioned above and they should be investigated in their own contexts.

Parents' Beliefs and Perceptions about Good Parenting

The most commonly mentioned characteristic of a good parent by the participants of this study is sacrifice. One explanation for that is because many of them are from families who were in low SES in Turkey and their parents did sacrifice to raise them and to provide them a better education.

" My mother was a good mother, she sacrifice herself as much as she could to raise us" (Deniz)

"She did not marry just because of her children although she was just 29 years old when my father was passed away. That is enough to make her a good mother." (Kerem)

" My parents were so self-sacrificing. My mom still cries when she eats something special without us." (Kadir)

" Sacrifice. She were trying to provide all kinds of opportunities for us." (Dilek)

" I feel a bit guilty. I do something for myself but my mother had never did anything for herself." (Hazel)

Other characteristics pointed by participants are patients and mercy towards children.

" Sometimes I suspect if I am not patient enough when I can not handle a problem with her." (Hazel)

" My mother was so merciful and she was so patient that she had never hit us. " (Dilek)

When I asked them in what aspects they want to be different from their parents majority of participants pointed out paying attention to child psychology. They want to have closer relationship with their children, which many of them had not had with their parents. This shift from authoritative to democratic view of parenting can be explained by their educational level, SES and also the overall changes in Turkish cultural values.

"I don't want my child to be afraid of her father. Communication is important and I would like my child to be able to talk to us." (Aysun)

"I want to raise my child in a more conscious way. For example child psychology, I don't know a lot but...Most of the Turkish parents are lack of knowledge about child psychology." (Mert)

"I want to be a friend of my child. I was close to my mom but still we hide something being afraid of that they would get angry of us. I don't want my child to hesitate whether he should talk to me or not. I don't want my child to be have to lie to me." (Deniz)

Similar to findings of the literature on Turkish parenting (T. C. Basbakanlik Aile Arastirma Kurumu, 1995; Hortacsu, 1995) child rearing is, mainly, seen as mothers' responsibility by the participants, and they often referred to mothers when talking about the characteristics of a good parent. Many of them pointed out the distinctive role of mother and status of women in Turkish family, mostly through comparisons with American family.

"American mothers are not so merciful. They love their children superficially; you can't see them in their lap. We tease our children and sometimes hit them but also love them too." (Yesim)

"In our culture the needs of her children and her husband has priority over her needs. Women do not even think to do something just for themselves. As a result family has a lot of expectation from children, they give a lot and expect so much. That causes a pressure on children to meet their parents' expectation and put them over their priorities. As parents give too much they find a right to interfere everything in their children's life." (Hazel)

"Turkish woman feel more responsibility to her home and family and she feels bad when she does not do that. My wife for example, prepared meal before leaving for a conference as if we will die from starving if she did not do that. I don't think that an American woman feels that responsibility." (Suha)

"Turkish parents are more responsible. American parents even don't hold their children's hand when they walk. We also have responsibility to our husbands. Here children eat by themselves and you see they are so thin. Parents do not pay attention. When I don't force them (pointing her daughters) they don't eat." (Sebnem)

"Americans have too strict rules. A child must be in bed in a certain time for example. I also pay attention to time but not that much. They raise children in a very strict way. They seem to be flexible but actually not. That is why their children are more obedient. We are more flexible." (Gul)

"They raise children as an individual and let children to do something by himself. But Turks are not like that. Turkish parents say to their children 'you are always a child for us' and at the same time 'you are a big adult' which cause a dilemma." (Suha)

When I analyze the interviews, I noticed that there are some contradictions between what the participants think about ideal parenting and what they practice in daily life. One example for that is that they complain about their children's insistence on doing things by themselves while they also state that parents should give more independence to the child.

Yesim: Another problem we faced is her insistence on doing whatever she wants and doing it by herself.

Researcher: So you think that her insistence on doing things by herself is a problem?

Yesim: Right. You are competing with the time and when she tries to do by herself it lasts more than when you do it for her. She broke, you need to clean and it is difficult. You should let a child do things to improve her abilities but a ten minute breakfast lasts about an hour.

All of the participants are well educated and all mentioned that they followed some kind of parenting publications, at least for first couple of years of their parenting experiences. I interpret the contradictions between their parenting practices and what they think about good parenting as a result of their strong beliefs and embedded values. And the root of these beliefs lie in not only how they had been raised but also the general culture in Turkey. Following is another example. I was in Sebnem's apartment for the first interview:

Sebnem: Okay, wait, then I will feed it to you, look your clothes! Okay, be quiet.

Okay, don't cry. Let me prepare your breakfast. Okay, I will feed it to you once.

Okay?

Girls stop crying, and I started to hear the music coming from type.

Sebnem: Bite it (holding the chocolate cake to Hiclal's mouth.)

Hiclal wanted to eat by herself but as her mom did not let her to do that she lied on the carpet and started crying again. Sebnem managed to get Yeliz eat it from her hand.

Sebnem: Look, it is falling on the carpet even when I feed it to you. (Picked the pieces from carpet.)

Hiclal is still crying.

Sebnem: Look! I will beat you. Oh, aaa, some pieces were fallen on the carpet.

Okay! Come here, eat by yourself.

Hiclal got up and hold the cake. While she was biting the cake Sebnem hold her hand under her mouth. Yeliz started crying because Sebnem did not let her eat by herself but let Hiclal to do so. Sebnem took Hiclal in her lap so that she could control the fallen pieces on her lap instead of on the carpet, while Yeliz went to kitchen floor and lie there. Sebnem (approaching me): *I wiped the floor two times today. I put one glass of bleach on a pail of water.*

That degree of concern about cleaning is not what she does by a conscious choice, but actually it is what she was expected to do by her social environment and also that is the way in which she was brought up while she was a girl. Many times Sebnem mentioned during our interviews about how much her mother was concerned about cleaning. Traditionally, cooking and cleaning is more important duties for a mother than playing or drawing a picture with her children. Turkish women would feel embarrassed if the house is messy when a guest shows up.

Differences Among Participants

I found interesting differences among the participants of this study, which confirms the findings of T. C. Basbakanlik Aile Arastirma Kurumu (1995) as that there are two different parenting styles in Turkey at the same time. However, I believe that these differences are due to different values ruling their family life, as they are similar in terms of age, educational level, social class, and living conditions, which contradicts with the interpretation of researchers of T. C. Basbakanlik Aile Arastirma Kurumu as they relate the differences to parents' SES, educational level and living area. Some of my participants value Traditional while some Western way of life. As pointed out by Hyman, Payaslioglu, & Frey (1958) this dilemma is an ongoing issue Turkish society starting from Turkish Revolution by Ataturk, founder of Turkish Republic.

While there had been earlier timid attempts at reform, these came to a dramatic culmination with Ataturk and the Revolution, and Westernization to be superimposed on a traditional society that was rural, non-industrialized, Islamic in culture, and absolutist in political institutions, and this general effort is still in progress. (p. 275)

	Families holding traditional values (4 families)	Families holding western values (4 families)
Number of children	3, 2, 1, 2	1, 1, 1, 1
Type of marriage	Arranged: 3, Date: 1	Arranged: 0, Date: 4
Student Parent	Father: 4, Mother: 0	Father: 2, Mother: 2

Mother work in Turkey	2	4
Child enrolment in daycare/school in USA	1 (elementary school)	3 (preschool)

Another difference I found but could not put in the table is regarding the dialog between couples. I observed during the third session of interviews when I had both parents present at the same time for interview with each family. What I saw when interviewing couples holding western values is that, even if the question addressed to one of the couples, they intervene each other's responses through either reminding certain events, questioning and arguing the response or joking, while couples holding traditional values, often, remained silent.

As shown in the table, families holding traditional values have more children than those holding Western values. In addition, they differ by the type of marriage. While all the mothers in families holding western values were working when they were in Turkey, only half of those holding traditional values were working. While the students are all fathers in families holding traditional values, half of the students in those holding western values are mothers. And finally, while only one child from families holding traditional values attend an educational institution, three children from those holding western values attend to an educational institution. These differences show the role of historical and religious contexts on participants' view and practices in family life as well as interaction between family members.

It is important to note that I did not select the participants based on the criteria of their values but rather during the research process I noticed two different family and

parenting values among the participants. My criteria determining which values they hold is based on information I gained through interviews and my observations as explained in following section.

I saw Islamic calendar in each house of those holding traditional values. They meet among themselves to read Koran regularly once a week and they articulated that they want to rule their daily life according to Islamic principles. That has even become a criterion when some choose their spouses.

Dilek: He was the friend of my friend's husband. They came to ask my parents. At first his mother with some other women from the family, came to see me. Then we had a conversation through phone. I made my decision after that.

Researcher: So you decided to marry him even before seeing him, right?

Dilek: Yes. It seemed to me that it would work. I had not even accepted other candidates to home but I did my husband.

Researcher: Can you tell me how did you decide to marry him just relying on the conversation you had on the phone?

Dilek: Well, I had some things that I lay down as condition and we agreed on them.

Researcher: What was your condition?

Dilek: I wanted to live Islam and did not want to him to prevent me.

When they put a name to their children they choose names have meaning in Islam. The wives of that group have interaction only within themselves, while both of the wives of other group regularly participate in some activities such as tennis course,

English courses and conversation meetings. So the role and the status of woman in two groups of families are quite different and so what they expose to their children.

I argue that these differences are based on their interpretation of Islam. For the families holding western values, Islam is not more than a personal belief system and had not came out during the interviews at all, while for families holding traditional values, Islam is not just personal belief system but also a set of principles that they want to follow in their daily life and came out many times during interviews.

What is unfortunate, however, is that I have not seen any literature conducted about Turkish family life, values and parenting practices paying attention to the role of Islam. Instead most relate the differences to the social class differences (such as, T. C. Basbakanlik Aile Arastirma Kurumu, 1995; Haktanir et al., 1999; Hortacsu, 1995; Kagitcibasi, 1996). I found that most of the research on Turkish family or parenting cited studies by Kagitcibasi who argues that it is not religion or ethnic differences but the differences in SES, parents' educational level and living in urban or rural areas make difference in parenting practices in Turkey similar to other developing countries. (Kagitcibasi, 1996)

Difficulties Living In USA

The most important difficulty all participants expressed, is being far from their relatives and friends. Participants also mentioned that their relatives and friends were not just people who surrounded them but rather they were a big support system. E. Olson (1981) also points out the importance of social environment in family life in Turkish society. Being far from their relatives and friends, for that reason, is a twofold problem as shortage of both their support system and their social space. This was one of the

common concerns they had during making decision to come to the US both for children and themselves.

"The only thing I worried about is that she had a lot of people she loved in Turkey and no one will be here, so I worried if that would effect her negatively or not."(Hazel)

"On the other hand, you are with your loved ones in Turkey, I can't even get a cake recipe here (laughed), I can't call whenever I want either." Dilek)

"On the other hand, being far away from family. We had a wide range of people around and a lot of friends and loved ones. I got a bunch of letters from my friends. I don't really miss my life in Turkey but missed my friends and family. I look for things, which is familiar, which I got used to. After coming here, the number of people who I can share personal issues, was decreased. I have only my husband while I had my friends in Turkey." (Gul)

"We were leaving him to my mom's place and come back and took him to home generally after having our dinner there In Turkey the care of Can was easier. Both my mom and my mother in law were very helpful. We could easily leave him to my mom and go out whenever we want. " (Deniz)

"I don't have the social environment and I don't even have any American friend here. When we were in Ankara, we were going out whenever we want leaving Can to his grandma. We had a surrounding which we were used to." (Suha)

Another common difficulty among participants is particularly based on their status of being students. Almost all students complained about their lack of time to spend with their family due to heavy course works. That is more dramatic for mother students

since it causes a feel of guilt, which is understandable concerning that they view child rearing mainly the responsibility of mothers.

"Not to save time for her. I was also very busy in Turkey....I have to go out at her best time, that is so bad." (Cengiz)

"We always postpone things for later. We say I will do after finishing master, but meanwhile she is getting grown up. May be we cannot balance time between work and child. Then we lie ourselves saying that we do that for her." (Kadir)

"I am taking a lot of courses this semester. I go to library at evenings during exams. I feel a bit guilty." (Kenan)

I feel insufficient to spend enough time with them. I should do that especially in this age.... For example I would be able to read a book for a second time."
(Kerem)

"...I do not spend whole my time with her. I am at school most of my time, as I did in Turkey, where I was working most of my time." (Hazal)

"I sometimes feel guilty when I try to study at home thinking that I don't save enough time for him." (Deniz)

Conclusions and Implications

There is a gap in the literature investigating the issues of Turkish, and in general international students' family life and parenting practices. Because students are different from migrants in many aspects influencing their family life, the literature on migrants do not help us to understand the issues of that particular population.

Some common perceptions on parenting are found among the participants. Some common characteristics of a good parent stated by participants are parents' sacrifice

themselves for their children; parents' mercy towards children; having closer relationship with their children than they had with their parents; and parenting as mainly the responsibility of mothers.

I found some contradictions between what participants think about good parenting and what they practice in their daily interactions with their children. Their practices, found, to be based on not only what they know about good parenting but also and more strongly on their own experiences, what they believe in, and the general Turkish cultural values.

I found important differences among families holding traditional values and families holding western values. This finding goes with the literature on Turkish family and parenting. What is different from the literature, however, is the explanation of this finding. In literature differences were explained by differences in SES, parents' educational level and living in urban or rural areas. Given to the fact that all the participants of this study are similar to each other in terms of age level, educational level, SES and all used to live in big cities in Turkey, this explanation in literature is not valid for this case. What I argue is that differences in their interpretation of Islam and related to that the values they hold are what make difference in the family life and interactions between family members of the participants of this study.

Interestingly, however, I found no literature devoted to examine the influence of religion on Turkish family life and parenting. One of the implications of this study, for that reason I hope, is to lead future research for examination of the role and influence of Islam in Turkish family life and parenting. I also hope this study leads those who are

interested in policy studies to investigate the reasons for the absence of religion in Turkish family and parenting studies, which I believe as to be political.

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<http://www.biu.ac.il/SOC/besa/meria/journal/1999/issue4/jv3n4a5.html>

APPENDIX 1

First session

1. How you made your decision to come to US while you had a child and how did having child affect that process?
2. After all you made your decision and came here, what did become easier which was difficult in Turkey and vice versa related to your family life and your child?

Second session

1. When and how did you get married?
2. Can you tell me what does it like being a mother? What had been changed in your life during and after pregnancy?
3. Have you read any book or magazine throughout and after your pregnancy?

Third session

1. Can you share with me one good and a one bad memory of your childhood?
2. Do you think your parents were good mother and father? Why do you think so and in what sense you want to be different from them?

Fourth session

1. Can you tell me about the characteristics of Turkish woman and families?
2. Who runs the economics in family?

APPENDIX 2

	1 st Visit	2 nd Visit	3 rd Visit	4 th Visit	1 st Observation	2 nd observation
YAGMUR	10/24/00	11/10/00	12/01/00	02/21/01	02/23/01 (home)	02/26/01 (home)
YELIZ	10/26/00	11/09/00	12/01/00	02/08/01	02/16/01 (home)	02/22/01 (home)
SELIN	10/27/00	11/06/00	11/30/00	02/13/01	02/16/01 (classroom)	02/20/01 (classroom)
LEYLA	10/30/00	11/09/00	11/29/00	02/08/01	02/19/01 (home)	02/23/01 (home)
SINEM	10/28/00	11/08/00	12/04/00	02/09/01	02/19/01 (classroom)	02/22/01 (classroom)
EYLUL	10/31/00	11/14/00	11/28/00	02/08/01	02/16/01 (classroom)	02/20/01 (classroom)
CAN	11/05/00	11/17/0	11/24/00	02/09/01	02/15/01 (classroom)	02/20/01 (classroom)
ALEV	11/03/00	11/17/00	12/02/00	_____	_____	_____

APPENDIX 3

Child's Name and Gender	Student Parents & Spouses	Siblings	Child's Schooling
ALEV (F)	Kerem (M) & Sibel (F)	Elif (F)	_____
CAN (M)	Deniz (F) & Suha (M)	_____	Child Development Center
EYLUL (F)	Cengiz (M) & Gul (F)	_____	Nursery School
LEYLA (F)	Mert (M) & Dilek (F)	_____	_____
SELIN (F)	Kadir (M) & Aysun (F)	_____	Nursery School
SINEM (F)	Ali (M) & Yesim (F)	Yavuz (M) Aydin (M)	Elementary School
YAGMUR (F)	Hazal (F) & Hasan (M)	_____	_____
YELIZ (F)	Kenan (M) & Sebnem (F)	Hiclal (F)	_____



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